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flower of the *uvtau* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

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After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*paysa*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *paysa* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

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Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tuiti: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wuakole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu laliliki: bears very small nuts.
Niu lanunui: very large nuts.
Niu kawa lolou: nuts with long husks.

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245 Niu kawa nunui: nuts with coarse thick husks.
Niu kawa lapalapa: nuts with thin husks.
242 Niu kawa pukupuku: nuts with round husks.
Niu kawa liliki: nuts that are small and have small husks.
824 Niu kawa pipiki: nuts of which the husks are tough and hard to remove.
Niu mawakiwaki: nuts that are enclosed in a soft husk easily removed.
[137] Niu pulu vemu: the best nuts for making sennit.

Coconut trees are also classified in terms of the color of the nut. Six types are recognized:

Niu uyi: dark green.
Niu kawa kenakena: pale green.
Niu kawa meiomelo: brownish red.
Niu melo: deep brown, almost red.
Niu melo toto: almost blood-red.
Niu kawa uyiuyi: midway between dark and pale green.

Most nuts are self-planted, but when a man wishes to plant one for himself he makes his selection of planting nut in terms of the above empirical classes. Similarly when a boy is sent to gather nuts, the stage of the nut is mentioned or the purpose for which it is desired; and the boy is told to get it from one of the above types of trees. A man is familiar with all the trees that he controls and with most of the trees on the land sections (*kawa*) of his paternal lineage; by giving specific directions to the nut-gatherer, he can always be sure that he receives the nut best suited to the purpose in hand.

245 Nuts planted by hand should be planted at the new moon; as the moon
782 grows bigger, so will the tree grow larger and never cease to bear. Trees from nuts planted at the time of the full moon will at first bear well, but in successive bearings the number of nuts will be fewer and fewer, until the tree ceases to bear. Informants say that the young people do not pay attention to this planting rule today; hence the fertility of the coconut trees on the island is slowly waning. Formerly when nuts were planted a simple prayer was said to the god Tamayei, that he make the tree grow well. At the time of the *laukava* food division of the chief, gifts were made to Tamayei to thank him for his assistance in producing fertile trees.

145 A tree that does not grow well is *niu tau makulu*. Only certain trees bear the sweet-husked nut (*niu mangalo*); the majority bear a nut with a bitter husk (*niu kava*). Though he can give no reason for this difference, every man knows which of his trees is a *niu mangalo*. As there are no obvious distinguishing features about the tree or the nut, save that of taste, ability to distinguish a *mangalo* tree is based on experience over a number of years. It is not uncommon to allow coconut trees to grow from nuts planted near the cook houses. These grow into small trees and provide a ready supply of leaves and leaflets for use in making platters, baskets, mats, and mosquito switches.

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replanted, and the corms themselves buried in the ground and left for the gods. The workers place the corms in their baskets which they carry to the village balanced on their heads (*tuku ki lunga o te ulu*).

There is no rotation of talo with other plants nor any system for leaving lands fallow between planting. At the time of greatest famine after the seismic wave, cultivation was alternated between reserve land and private talo beds to ensure that each bed of talo was put to best use and that the corms were allowed to mature properly.

Cultivation further consists in weeding (*langai i te vayavaya ai*) and fertilizing (*wakalepo* or *tilikao*) the talo beds:

> The gardens are weeded by women about once each month during the early stages of growth. Weeds are tramped into the soil or allowed to rot on top. When six or seven leaves are fully unfurled, the beds are fertilized with *pukuma* leaves, *lau kotowa* fern, grasses, coconut leaves, or any other vegetable matter. The fern leaves are cut off at the base of the plant and wrapped for transport in coconut-leaf mats (*polapola*). All the subsidiary branches are cut from the *pukuma* tree, and the leaves stripped by hand from each branch and placed in baskets. The branches are replanted or dried and used as firewood, canoe poles, etc. The vegetable matter is taken to the garden and spread over the ground around each talo plant. Some is tramped in, but the larger vegetable matter is allowed to rot on top. This is mainly women's work, but the men sometimes assist, especially in the cutting down of the *pukuma* branches. Normally there are about two crops of talo from each bed during each twelve-month period. This means fertilizing each year about two months after each planting.

In the old days a little dryland talo (*kape*) was cultivated. Killed by the tidal wave, it has not been replanted.

At least eighteen stages in the growth of talo or *pulaka* are recognized:

> Toki te tingapula: the cutting is planted.
> Po lua, koa tupu te aka o te wawa: 2d day, the roots grow.
> Po tolu, koa velo te lito: 3d day, the young leaves begin to protrude from the base of the innermost petiole.
> Po lima, koa loa te lito o te kau: 5th day, the young leaves grow tall.
> Po angauiu, koa velo te lito wou: 10th day, new petioles and leaves shoot up.
> Taeyao atu, koa kau lua: the next day, there are two petioles and leaves.
> Koa velo mai te tolu o te lito: (15th day) the third petiole and leaf start up.
> Koa kau tolu: (20th day) there are now three petioles well grown.
> Koa kau wa: (22d day) there are four petioles. This is the time to cultivate and fertilize the young talo.
> Koa kau lima: (23d day) there are five petioles growing.
> Koa wakalaungavali: (24th day) the leaves sway freely in the wind.
> Koa toaki te kau lima, koa uyi, koa tupu mai oki te lau kaua, koa ono lau talo, koa ola: (30th day) petioles spread and darken in color, the leaf grows large, there are six main leaves, the plant flourishes.
> Koa utuuto ki lunga: (35th day) the petioles grow high.
> Koa ola loa ki lunga: (45th day) the petioles grow high indeed.
> Koa tuku te ulu: (2d month) the head is left, the petioles and leaves stop growing, and the corm begins to grow.
> Koa matapu te wawa: (3d month) the corm is two finger-joints long.
> Oko ki te vavanga o te wawa: (4th and 5th months) the time when the corm grows rapidly.
> Koa kivi, koa wowolo: (6th and 7th months) the corm is mature and large.